



THE
COST AND OUTCOME
OF
NEGRO EDUCATION
IN
VIRGINIA.

Respectfully Addressed to the White People
of the State,

BY
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The sentiments expressed and the policy avowed by President Harrison on the negro question as well during the late canvass as after his election necessarily intensified the race conflict which has existed in Virginia ever since emancipation. And as soon as the increased insubordination and restlessness of the negro became manifest, I determined to group some of the leading facts of the situation and present them to our people that they might act advisedly in whatever they might choose to do in regard to it. I meant to have done this some three months ago, in time for the question to have had deliberate consideration in the Democratic Convention, if it had thought proper to notice it; but circumstances of a private nature prevented. Then, not choosing to thrust a new issue upon men who had no time to consider it, I determined to wait until the Convention had met and adjourned.

That having occurred, I think the time has come when I may properly call the attention of my fellow-citizens to this question: *Whether it is necessary or proper to burden themselves with the cost of educating hostile negroes out of white men's taxes?* I raise this question upon my own responsibility, and rather as a citizen of the Commonwealth than as a member of the Democratic party; which has not authorized me to speak for it. It is true that I have consulted a good many of my friends from various parts of the State, who have been pleased to lend their sanction to what I propose. And the favor with which the proposition was received by the late Convention, when it was brought to their attention by Hon. J. E. Massey, encourages the hope that I am not mistaken in the estimate of the patriotism, good sense, and courage of the people, upon which I ground this address to them.

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When in April and May, 1887, the State of Virginia, through a joint committee of her Legislature, held a conference with the commission of foreign bondholders, General Wickham, Republican—Mr. Massey, Lieutenant-Governor, and the rest of the committee being in accord with him—stated the net revenues of the State to be \$2,521,875.84.

The expenses of the State for the same year were \$2,056,451.37, leaving an excess of receipts over expenses of \$465,424.47. This statement, taken from official figures furnished in detail by the Auditor of Public Accounts, was subsequently repeated and endorsed by the Governor in his annual message to the Legislature.

It was made to satisfy the British commissioners that an increased tax, "if it were laid, could not be collected without depriving the people utterly of their means of livelihood"*—that so far from increasing the taxes, our necessities demanded a reduction of them.

That was two years ago; and since that time the revenue has fallen off somewhat and the expenses have increased; the appropriations to disabled soldiers, for instance, from \$45,000 to \$90,000. About the same time it was shown† that notwithstanding a decided increase in the value of town and city property, there had been in fifteen years, counting from 1871, a decrease in the taxable values of real and personal estate in the country (which pays more than twice as much taxes as the cities), of \$48,671,137.26, out of \$290,006,655.33, in round numbers 16 per cent.

* Senate Document, 1887, pages 43-4.

† Richmond *Dispatch*, July 1, 1888.

Since then there has been a still further decrease in the values of country property, as will be demonstrated by the assessment of 1890; and the burden of taxes (nearly twice as heavy here as in New York, the richest State in the Union) is pressing with accumulating force on our white people who pay nearly all of them.

The above is but a repetition of figures well known to our oppressed and suffering people. But it is necessary to give them here in connection with the purpose of this article.

That purpose is to show how the people may relieve themselves of a very considerable proportion of that burden, or at least shift it, if they please, so that it will operate more beneficially. The mode by which this can be done is so to alter the plan of public education in Virginia, as to require that the money appropriated to the schools for negroes shall be exclusively contributed by a fund set apart for that object from the taxes they pay; and the money appropriated to the schools for whites shall be exclusively contributed from the taxes they pay.

But to do this it will be necessary to amend the Constitution of the State and pass certain laws to give force to the amendment.

The Constitution requires (Article VIII, section 8), "that the General Assembly shall apply the annual interest on the Literary Fund, the capitation tax, and an annual tax upon the property of the State of not less than one mill, nor more than five mills, in the dollar, for the equal benefit of *all the people* of the State, the number of children between the ages of five and twenty-one years in each school district being the basis of such division;" and all money raised by county taxation for the support of public free schools is subject to the same rule of apportionment, *i. e.*, "for the equal benefit of *all the people* of the State." Article X, section 5, provides for a *per capita* tax, not exceeding one dollar per annum, on every male citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years for public free schools exclusively.

As it will take not less than three years to pass this amendment, there will be ample time to reflect upon the matter. So it is not now necessary to discuss the form of such an amendment, nor of the legislation that would follow. It is enough to say that the officers who make the assessment can easily report the color of the property owner, and so ascertain the amount of tax paid by black and white.

The question is now, whether the amount annually paid out of the taxes to negro education is a considerable portion of this taxation, and, therefore, worth saving to our impoverished people, or being directed to a better object. On this point Dr. John L. Buchanan, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, furnishes the figures, and here they are :

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Total amount derived from State and local taxation, expended on the public schools from 1870-'71 to 1887-'88—18 years	\$19,531,931 66
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In the above amount are not included the following two items:

1st. Appropriations from the Peabody Education Fund, from 1868 to 1886 inclusive, expended on private and public schools, normal schools and institutes, both white and colored pupils receiving the benefits thereof.	281,134 00
2d. Private contributions to public schools.	324,926 59

Cost of Negro Education.

Cost of negro education in the public schools, including total current expenses for 18 years.	\$3,967,290 60
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Cost of permanent improvements—sites, buildings, school equipments, &c., one-fourth of whole amount...	529,400 75
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Total cost of negro education in the public schools	\$4,496,691 35
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It is found that the cost of negro education in the public schools compared with white is in the proportion of 70 to 100. This is due to the fact that for the 18 years of the public school system, the negro schools average 30 pupils to the school, while white average only 24 pupils to the school. Again, in many districts teachers are paid according to the grade of their certificates. Negro teachers, as a rule, have more of the low grade certificates.

Amount from Agricultural Land-scrip to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute to 1888	164,050 00
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Amount appropriated by the State to the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute to 1888	247,000 00
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\$4,907,741 35

Total number of schools for the year 1887-8	{ white	5,154
	{ colored	2,115
		<hr/> 7,269

The negro schools, it is seen, are a little above two-sevenths of the whole.

Total cost of the public schools for the year 1887-8. .	\$1,558,352 70
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Estimated cost of negro schools, one-fourth of total cost	\$389,588 18
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Amount of Federal Land-scrip fund to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	10,329 36
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Annuity to Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	20,000 00
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Total cost of negro schools, as per estimate . . .	\$419,917 54
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The cost, therefore, of negro education for the year 1887-8 can be safely estimated, in round numbers, at not less than 400,000 00 (and this leaving out the Hampton Institute.)

How much of this \$400,000 per annum is paid by negroes cannot be accurately told, there being no mode prescribed by law, as there should be, for ascertaining the proportion of all taxes paid by whites and blacks. The whole amount of capitation tax, of a dollar a head, which was assessed in 1888 on 208,541 white men and 114,237 negroes, goes to the public schools, as I have said.* Those assessed with it are listed according to color; and the delinquents should be returned in the same way. This, however, is only done in certain counties. But averaging the whole by them, as I have done, I assume that not more than \$50,000 is paid by negroes.

Of the taxes on real and personal property, I assume, after consultation with various persons, whose judgment I value, that not more than \$40,000 are paid by negroes; of which sum one-fourth part, or \$10,000, goes to the schools. This makes an aggregate of \$60,000, which deducted from the \$400,000, stated by the Superintendent of Public Instruction to be the annual charge, leaves \$340,000 as the annual tribute that white men pay in money to what is called negro education.

This is more than \$1.50 charged to each 208,547 white tax payer; and an aggregate of more than half of what would be the annual charge for interest if our bonds were funded into Riddleberger three per cents.

As our total revenues from real estate and personal property amount to \$1,426,302.04, the relief by reducing the taxes \$340,000 would be just about one-fourth, or 25 per cent. But if that sum be added to \$1,158,352.70, the fund now expended on white schools, and applied to their extension, it would lengthen *their* term by about two months; that is to say, from 5.95 months as at present to 7.81 months. This remits the negroes to the sum of \$60,000 per annum for their schools; unless they should choose to raise more money by paying their taxes better.

Does sound policy require that 208,547 white men, who vote only 172,000 at the polls, shall pay \$1.50 per head of their money, amounting in all to five-sixth of the cost of negro schools, to negroes who pay only one-sixth of the cost of their schools, and who list 114,237 for capitation tax, but vote 130,000 at the polls? Does sound policy require that white men shall sacrifice one-fourth of the schooling of their children to the schooling of negro children?

This thing has been going on for 19 years—that is, from 1870 up to and including this year; in which time the State has spent on negro education, including \$409,566.18 assumed for the present year, \$5,692,923.71; of which about \$4,754,313.10 are paid by

* This information is obtained in office of Auditor of Public Accounts from assessments by commissioner of revenue of each county and returns by county treasurers of lists of delinquents and insolvents.

whites. (Adding Federal and individual contributions, the total cannot be much less than \$6,000,000.) Shall this contribution continue?

Two ideas underlie the

Theory of Education.

The one is that it fits men for the performance of their public and social duties as citizens; the other that it teaches good behavior and good morals by "lessons learnt out of school books," as Herbert Spencer says. The assumed capacity of common schools to accomplish these things brings them within "the simple general rule of a representative republican government in regard to the use of money raised by taxation from the community, viz., that it should be employed for those purposes only which are of great necessity and of supreme utility."*

Now the general consent of the United States is that common schools are necessary to white people who need and profit by education; and Virginia, who has no other means of educating her people, subscribes to this doctrine. But as to negroes it has been a matter of experiment whether they will or can profit by the opportunity offered.† The omniscient northern philanthropist has already decided that it is the thing "that has so far rendered possible the enfranchisement of a servile race on an equality with their former masters, the beginning throughout the South of a career of sound industrial and commercial activity."* But an experience of nineteen years has shown all observant Virginians that so far from having been fitted by education for the discharge of civil or social duties, or from having been improved in conduct or morals, that they have absolutely deteriorated, and have given no promise of amendment in any direction. The very able book of Mr. P. A. Bruce, "*The Plantation Negro as a Freedman*"—a book which should be read by or to every man, woman and child in the Commonwealth—appears to establish this fact. At the same time it treats the relations of the negro to society with an exhaustive fullness and mathematical impartiality of delineation that leaves but little more to be said upon the character or capacity of the race. And as our people, to

* Lawler's Political Cyclopedia. Vol. 2d. Art. Education.

† It would have made this paper too long to go into the question of what is called "arrested development"—that is, "what has often been remarked both here and in Africa and the West Indies," that negro children up to the age of puberty learn remarkably well, at least by rote, but after that period of life has been reached they become incurably stupid and make no further progress. I merely save the point, as the lawyers say, by affirming that it is one of the facts that prove the negro incapable of education in any proper sense of the word.

whom alone I address myself, know the negroes well, it would be perhaps unnecessary to say even that little except to call attention to a few facts which prove the accuracy of Mr. Bruce's picture.

How has education affected

Their Political Relations?

In 1871, by reversing their vote, on the Funding Bill in about three hours' time,* with a promptness and unanimity which proved that they had been bribed, they enabled a ring of stock-jobbers, in combination with a few romantic Democrats, to burden the State with a debt settlement which embarrasses her to the present day, though the Democratic party is now fully committed to the justice of refusing to pay it. In 1881 they voted with the Readjusters to undo, as far as practicable, their mischievous work of 1871. And they had no more knowledge or convictions in the one case than in the other; they were merely carrying out Republican decrees. In all the intermediate time, and down to this day, their proclivity to unite with the Republican party, represented in Virginia by the carpet-baggers and the scalawags—with the fewest exceptions the refuse of our white men—has kept our people in a state of constant and feverish anxiety. Hence, besides the boon of education, the money for which has been always readily voted to them, the Democratic (or White Man's) party has felt impelled in self-defence to make other earnest efforts to conciliate them, and has always, on prudential grounds, declined to tender the race issue, or to argue it on the stump, except when it has been raised by the Republicans.

But the negroes have been found to be irreclaimably deceitful and venal: and have always shown the inherent servility of their race by the eagerness with which they seek masters like General Mahone, who have found no difficulty, except in the case of the last Congressional election in the Petersburg District, in purchasing and controlling them through their leaders, especially their preachers, whom they follow without question. So much for their behavior in politics.

That education has failed to improve.

Their Industrial Condition

need not be minutely pointed out. It is so universally known that they have depreciated from a high degree of efficiency as agricultural laborers, in slavery, to a state of utter worthlessness in freedom, that it will be sufficient to cite a very few instances of their condition, as a means of enabling every man to call to mind numbers of similar instances within his own observation. Recently I have heard two gentlemen, one from Powhatan, the other from

* Journal House of Delegates, 1870-'71, pages 186-87.

Rockbridge, say that it is impossible to find any negroes that can cut wheat or grass except the few who were grown men in the slavery era, 25 years ago. The one from Rockbridge, a grass country, said that "the new issue," as we call those who have grown up in freedom, did not understand as simple a thing as cocking hay from the winrow, or ploughing corn with a trained work horse.*

The other, who has been for the last two years engaged in railroad building, and has worked hired convicts all that time, told me that it was necessary to season them all to the work; they being totally incapable of sustained labor at first; their hands blistering from the use of tools.

Tobacco making is a peculiar process of mixed tillage in the field and manipulation in the barn; the latter branch requiring a considerable amount of skill and close attention, especially in "sorting" the leaves of the plant into different classes. The inefficiency of the *post-bellum* negro in this work has produced between the planter and the ultimate Virginia purchaser an intermediate class of men called re-handlers, whose office it is to buy the tobacco in first hands and sort it, of course charging a good profit for their work, as all middle men do; and the negroes who do this work are depreciating every day. Owing to this and other similar causes, it is now understood that the difference between profit and loss on tobacco growing is the difference between the crop made by white and the crop made by colored men.

Under this condition of labor, lands superior to any north or south of them, this side of the mountains, and which were successfully cultivated before the war, do not now produce a bushel of corn for export, nor make as much wheat as they sowed thirty years ago (in some counties almost the sole revenue is derived from cord wood, lumber and railroad ties); and tobacco, failing to remunerate the producer, except in the description known as bright tobacco,† is much more largely grown in the west than in Virginia and (her sister in misfortune) North Carolina.‡

* NOTE.—Contrast with the above the following taken from the award of premiums made at the Agricultural Fair and Exhibition of the Virginia State Agricultural Society in October, 1853: "The first premium for good ploughing was awarded to a negro over several white competitors. 'Mann Randolph, a slave, the property of Richard Sampson,' as the award styled him, made the best furrow, driving four mules without lines, and made forty dollars for himself, and not one for his master, by this meritorious feat."—Southern Planter, vol. 13, page 369.

† Which is grown and managed by white men, being entirely beyond the skill of the negroes.

‡ And as the operations of Mr. Armour and other western men, who, by the process of what is known as "cold storage," sell dressed beef at prices which beat the graziers of Virginia in their own markets, and so inflict upon the southwest a greater damage than the boom of its mining lands can compensate, we can understand why I said in a former part of this article that the assessment of 1890 will show a decreased value of rural real estate.

Everywhere the restraint and discipline of the school, as Mr. Bruce suggests, seems by a reaction, to increase the licentiousness of the young negroes, as soon as they secure the right to govern their own conduct; universally they rebel against all labor, except such as is forced on them by hunger and nakedness and love of pleasure; and in all these cases, both in town and country, they too often substitute theft or forgery, or other crimes for labor. So far, then, public schools have not retarded the depreciation of negro labor in the country. On the contrary, as the parents exercise none, or but a temporary and fitful control over their children, and they have become disgusted with outside restraint in their school experience, they get to be loafers on the face of the earth.

How is it in the cities, where contact with whites would be thought to give exceptional development in intellect, skill and morals? How is it in Richmond, for instance? A very late and careful estimate makes the population of this city and Manchester and their environs as follows:—

Whites.	Colored.	Total.
68,811	37,232	106,043

—which gives in round numbers 37 per cent. of negroes. Mr. Chataigne's Directory for the years 1889-'90, gives a list of the business employments of all the people, except the laborers, by name and color. Looking over that list I find the names of 457 blacks to 2,346 whites. This is only 18 per cent. of negroes, where, according to the ratio of population, there ought to be 37 per cent. Of these the largest number is in the list of what Mr. Chataigne calls grocers, where the proportion is 81 blacks to 634 whites, or only about 12 per cent. one-third of what it should be according to the ratio of population. And if these grocers were graded, it would show a still greater disproportion; for the grocery stores kept by negroes are, as we know, extremely ordinary affairs (with possibly one exception, a firm of two very respectable negroes who were trained as the slaves of one of our most accomplished business men), and I doubt whether, if properly graded, they would contain one-twentieth part of the commodities sold in the grocery stores of white men.

Examining the same authority further, I find that there is among the negro "business men," so to speak, not a hotel, not one dry-goods merchant, not one tailor or clothing store, nor hat store, nor shoe store, no tinner or plumber, not a leather store, not a cabinet maker or manufacturer or furniture dealer, no hardware store, no iron or brass foundry or machine shop of any sort, no carriage nor wagon maker, though there are some wheelwrights; no tobacco

manufacturer, not one commission house, but one negro, to 87 white druggists, and 5 negro, to 71 white carpenters ; yet, strange to say, 11 black to 23 white undertakers—5 negro, to 125 white, physicians, or only about 4 per cent., and four negro, to 153 white, lawyers!—negroes who, by the way, are so ignorant that not one of them can tell the difference between debt, detinue and assumpsit, not one can draw a declaration, or a demurrer, or write a bill of exceptions, can in fact perform one function of a lawyer ; negroes whose admission to the bar is not only a shame and scandal to the judges who signed their licences and an insult to the bar, but a direct injury to the colored race, by enlarging their pretensions, and to the whites by adding that much to the difficulties that now surround them. As some of Richmond's wealthiest and worthiest citizens are men of no early advantages, who began life as overseers in tobacco factories, or in some humbler capacity, one would have thought that among the ten thousands of negroes who, since the war, have worked in such factories, one of them, at least, would have become a manufacturer. But there is not one. On the contrary, the *post-bellum* negroes are not as efficient in the factories as the *ante-bellum*, though these latter are few and aged. There is the same failure of progress in all other employments. No colored ostler has yet set up a livery stable, nor wheelwright, a wagon or coachmaker's shop, nor restaurateur, a hotel.

I have been curious to ascertain the "rating" of these people—*i. e.*, their credit in business ; and, consulting Bradstreet, I find that there are only 48 of the 432 registered at all. Of these, 33 have no rating. Of the other 15, only one rates higher than \$1,000 to \$2,000 as to means, and limited as to credit, being rated at less than \$500 to \$1,000.

What is true of one city is true of all.

How has education affected

Their Criminal Record?

Omitting more than a bare allusion to their petty larcenies and misdemeanors, which keep our municipal and county courts pretty well employed, I show the felonies they have been convicted of from 1871 to 1888, both inclusive, in the following table, prepared for me by Mr. W. W. Moses, the Superintendent of the Penitentiary :

Another table, furnished by Mr. Moses, shows the average age of the convicts at the date of their admission to the penitentiary to be 27 years and 10 months. From which it is evident that a majority of them must have had the advantage of the public schools.

The record of executions for murder and rape does not show the color of the criminals; and whether negroes commit more or less than their proportion of murders does not therefore appear. But they commit much more than their ratable proportion of rape, especially upon white women. But the largest number of these cases are punished by lynching and never get into the courts; whither, in my judgment, it is discreditable as well as impolitic that any of them should be allowed to go. The newspapers, however, though I know their record is not full, show that since the 10th of March last, six days after Harrison's inauguration, up to the 10th of August, 12 white women have been assaulted by 16 negro men; and in some cases under circumstances of worse than brutal atrocity. Respect for the victims and their families prevents specification of these offenses.

It is as well before leaving this branch of the subject to remind the reader that conviction and service in the penitentiary brings no disgrace to the criminal. On the contrary, no matter what the offence, it is rather a mark of distinction, calling for renewed social recognition as soon as the convict is discharged.

Such an outcome of Yankee statesmanship and philanthropy as the above was inevitable, and was predicted from the beginning by the South, which knew the negro race by the observation of two centuries. In all that time it had learned by daily contact how radical and organic is the difference between the black and Caucasian races, and how impotent education would be to change the negro nature. But this the North ignored or failed to understand, and committed the crime of attempting, or affecting, "to change the type of a social structure by a rearrangement wrought out through a revolution"* against all the teachings of sociology, and against the suggestions of common sense and the dictates of humanity.

They have ignored the great law of society that all governments must grow out of the *character* of the nation, and that institutions out of keeping with the character of the people upon whom they are imposed can no more produce conformity to the pattern than a com-

docket in two years. But since '72 there have been 140 convictions and about thrice that number of prosecutions." He adds, he cannot inform me as to the cases where the party charged with the offence is of such tender years as to make a conviction improper; but he says this class of cases is increasing to an alarming extent. But in the great majority of these cases the merchants never have the parties arrested because of the small amounts of the swindle, or because of the youth of the offenders. From this it appears that their education has widened the range of their instinctive thievishness.

* *The Study of Sociology*, page 121; see also page 275, *et seq.*

pulsory allegiance to the church and a subscription to its creed can make men pious. And herein the North has sinned against knowledge. For before the word sociology was invented, or the science it expresses was thought of, it had united in the promulgation of the "self-evident truth"—the axiom, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed:* that is, that the principles of every government should express the ideas of its citizens of what was proper for their society; or, in other words, that it should conform to the character of their people. But in the case in hand, the white people of Virginia, upon whom is imposed the burden of carrying the negroes, deny the suitableness of the government to themselves; and the negroes are incapable of forming an opinion upon it. they are political idiots. Yet men who call themselves statesmen and philanthropists demand that the South shall admit these negroes to all the rights of citizenship, whilst they, themselves, exclude, as if they were lepers, the Chinese; who, though heathen, have yet perhaps the oldest and most stable civilization of the world; thereby acting in their own case upon a principle which they repudiate in ours.

But the explanation given by our friends, the philanthropists, is different. They declare that manhood has been whipped out of these people by the lash of the slave driver. As Rev. Lyman Abbott, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, lately informed his people in an edifying sermon or lecture, "two hundred years of slavery have so debased the negro of the South that it would require two hundred years to eradicate the pernicious effects of that institution upon them." Can any but a bigot or a blind and inveterate hater of the South accept this as an explanation?

Can it be imagined that any race of white men, accustomed to the association and commanding presence of Southern white masters for 200 years—though the average of slavery is less than 150 years—and then emancipated and sent to school, could have been so irresponsible, so dead, to all efforts at their improvement? Look at the Jews, a race in our midst to-day. Beginning in the dawn of history as nomads, struggling for national existence against the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, and Romans; transported by the whole nation from their native land, they have been for twenty centuries, or ten times 200 years, the victims of a persecution unparalleled in the history of any other people. In every period of the world's history, in every nation under heaven, by every sect, they have been imprisoned, tortured, massacred, sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and thrown to the dogs in Asia; chained to the galling car for life in Africa, burned to death in Spain, flayed alive in Italy, fleeced, tortured, and banished from England, plunged into the catacombs of France, knouted in Russia, or driven to perish in the

* Declaration of independence.

wilds of Siberia; it can be truthfully said that the Helots of Sparta, the Pariahs of India, the Moslems of Turkey have suffered less than the Jews in Christian Europe.*

These people are here; we see them daily in Richmond, and though they number less than 1,500 souls, or 1 1-2 per cent. of our population, we meet them everywhere (except in the poor-house, the jail, and the penitentiary, which appear to be the favorite haunts of the negro): in law, in politics, in trade, in literature and art, and leading all competitors in certain lines of business. Could two thousand years of oppression have reduced them to the present level of the emancipated negro? Why could it not? Because they are Caucasians, and because they have stood upon the ten commandments from the time of Moses. They acknowledge that they are not to murder, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to bear false witness, and that it is their duty to honor their father and mother.

But negroes do not stand upon these cardinal virtues. They are traits they cannot comprehend and never possessed. And this for a very simple reason: the whole race is unchaste. Taking Richmond again, which should give the best results of negro education in its effect on morals, I find that the census of her school population proves that one-half the negro scholars are illegitimate. Does not this show that incontinence is the rule with their women? And are not morals based on motherhood? And what is motherhood without chastity,

And her rich dower of clustering charities?

How many "lessons learnt out of school books" can obliterate crimes and vices bred in the bone, sucked in with mother's milk, confirmed in the growing child by the daily conduct of its mother, and running back, in an unbroken line of example, from mother to daughter, for 4,000 years, that we know of?†

* The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World." A lecture by Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., April, 1888.

† It does not come within the scope of this article to show, as I might do, that the depreciation of the Virginia negro, after twenty-four years of freedom and nineteen years of schooling, might have been foretold from his ethnological history, as displayed in

(1) The monuments of Egypt, Babylon, &c., which prove that thousands of years ago, though in close contact with the highest civilization of that ancient period, he never rose above the condition of an abject.

(2) His present condition in Africa, which is not less degraded and barbarous now than it was then.

(3) His lapse to barbarism in Liberia; which was settled, under extraordinary advantages, by the pick of his race from the United States.

(4) His condition in Hayti, where, signaling his emancipation 100 years ago by exterminating the white men of the island, and then attempting to exterminate the mulattoes, he has now come back to anarchy and cannibalism.

The authorities for all the above assertions are readily accessible to any who may desire to consult them.

Has the new education taught them to curb and measure their

Social Aspirations?

On the contrary, it has raised them beyond all bounds. They demand absolute civil and social equality. Their preachers, their politicians, their newspapers demand it openly. What is the greatest stimulus to the negro to reach that plane? Miscegenation; the acme of negro aspiration. We know what was said here, only a few years ago, by negro orators to negro audiences, on that subject, veiled under the transparent terms "unification" and "assimilation" of races. We all remember the thrill of horror with which people read these things in the newspapers of the day.

More lately Professor John Mercer Langston, himself a middle-aged mulatto, candidate for Congress in the Fourth district, said, substantially, to the negro voters he was soliciting, that he confidently expected to see the day when the blood of both races would be commingled under the sanction and protection of the law. He assumed the position that God in His Providence had brought the negro to America, that by an intermingling of the blood of both races, a race should be developed superior in physical, moral and intellectual qualities to the white. He presented himself to his audiences as an illustration of this doctrine, claiming that he was the child of a pure-blooded negro woman and a pure-blooded white man. That the negroes were not unmindful of his utterances was evidenced by the fact that his vote exceeded by nearly four to one, and excluding the white Republicans (who supported Judge Arnold) about twenty to one that received by Judge Arnold, the regular nominee of the Republican party in that district.

Only a short time after that election a group of negro preachers travelling at night on the Richmond and Alleghany railroad were heard to announce the same views, probably endorsing the speech of their candidate. We know that numbers of Northern people advance similar opinions, notably the *New York World*.

Has education purified

Their Religion?

It is a peculiarity of the race that they are subject to a sort of epidemic hysteria, like the dancing mania of the middle ages, and like that, inclining its victims to precipitate themselves into water * Having, as they honestly think they have, obtained sancti-

* Imitative as apes, the negroes go through the form of Immersion, as they have seen it practiced by white people, and then call themselves Baptists. But it is doing injustice to that denomination of Christians to admit that they are Baptists in any proper sense of the term, for their creeds differ. Before the war, when they were under the direction of white ministers, such for instance, as the devoted Dr. Robert Ryland, late of Richmond, there may have been a few Christians among them. But there are *very few* now.

fication in this way, they put their own interpretation upon that verse of the First Épistle General of John, chap. III, verse 9, which reads :

“Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him ; and he cannot sin because he is born of God.”

Thenceforward they think their souls are absolutely safe, no matter what they do. As a consequence the thing which they call religion is a disadvantage to them. It is unnecessary to give facts in proof of this because the State is full of them. But the following is noteworthy as an indication of what follows such a creed. It is extracted from the *State* newspaper, and shows that John Jasper, an ignorant negro preacher, who is said to have baptized more negroes in their late revival than any other of their preachers, and who, I learn, has more credit with his race than any preacher of the eighteen colored churches in this city (12 Baptist, 3 Methodist, 2 Episcopal and 1 Catholic)—claims to predict events, not by dreams, but as a direct revelation from the Almighty ; whose actual presence is sensibly felt by him. When interviewed by a reporter about certain predictions he replied :

(The phraseology here is the reporter's). “I am near to God and it is through inspiration these things are made known to me. * * * I don't know a better way to illustrate and make myself understood than by giving an illustration ; say there are two persons seated by a hot fire, one is very near the grate, the other remote. The one who is near feels the heat very perceptibly ; it burns him. While the other, who is remote from the fire, sees and knows that his friend is feeling the effect of the fire, but he himself does not. And that is my experience of inspiration. I can feel the inspiration of the Lord in me, and by that I am able to foresee what is going to take place.”—*State*, June 11, 1889.

Does not this have a relish in it of the present extravagance of the negroes in Liberty county, and other places in Georgia and Alabama, of which we read every day ? Does it not smack of Hayti ? Above all does it not remind us of Nat. Turner, who believed himself chosen of the Lord to lead his people to freedom ? “For a long time,” says Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, “he claimed to have heard voices in the air and to have seen signs in the sky. Portents were written on the falling leaves of the woods, and in spots of blood upon the corn in the fields to inform him of his divine mission. In his Bible, which he knew by heart, he found prophecies of the great work he was called upon to do. He was regarded as having unusual mental power and resources.” If brooding over his servile condition inspired him to the Southampton massacre, what may not the exultation of success under Republican auspices inspire in the heart of some negro “of unusual mental power

and resources" penetrated with the conviction, lately announced by the Rt. Rev. James Theodore Holly, the colored Episcopal Bishop of cannibal (!) Hayti that "the Mosaic dispensation was Semitic; the gospel dispensation is principally Japhetic, but the Millennial dispensation will be Hametic;" and that the time is at hand "when that race whose son" (by the way Simon was a Cyrenian Jew) "carried the Saviour's Cross, while the Semitic and Japhetic races united to crucify him, will wear the dispensational crown?" etc.* We all know how attempts at a violent fulfilment of this prediction are encouraged by the present policy of Mr. Harrison's administration and by such leaders of public sentiment at the North and among the negroes as General Sherman, who assures the negroes that millions from the North will assist them in "another war more cruel than the last, when the torch and dagger will take the place of well ordered battalions." And we all see the effect on them in their daily growing presumption and insubordination.

It appears then that in 19 years of public free schools there has been no development of religious, intellectual, moral or industrial advancement in the negroes; rather a falling back in all these attributes. Still if experience could encourage the hope that they could be brought to some state of docile good will by such costly efforts as have been made in their behalf, or if the Republican party could have been conciliated by the attempt to fit their wards for the duties of citizens, then, futile as the endeavor, there might be some reason for continuing the sacrifice. But so far from being conciliated it is now well known that the Republican party is plotting to attempt, at the next session of Congress, another violation of the constitution—to place the elections of the Southern States under Federal control, the pretext being to secure to the negroes their right to vote; the motive being to regain control of the South by restoring to the negroes as much power as they had in the worst days of carpet-bagery. And so far from being conciliated by what has been done for them, the negroes have received this bounty with sullen, jealous, insolent, and rebellious ingratitude instead of appreciative thankfulness—as some of us knew they would beforehand. For we had been taught that "you cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles," nor convert an African into a Caucasian by "lessons taught in school books," or by any other process; and therefore the attempt should cease.

Important as it would be to withhold the appropriation to their education in order to relieve the white people of this useless tax, there are

*The *Afro-American Churchman*, newspaper, of Norfolk city (re-published in *Southern Churchman* of July 18th) in a letter to Rev. Geo. Freeman Bragg, colored Rector of the colored Episcopal church of Norfolk city and author of a letter published with extracts in the *Southern Churchman* of March 14 and 21, 1889, written to show the negroes' hatred of white men.

yet other inducements to it whose force I think has not been sufficiently estimated. As the negroes are said to attach very great value to schools, if they cannot get them here they will have a strong motive to go to other States which provide them; and this may help us to a separation which cannot be commenced too soon, and which should be forwarded by any and all, even the smallest, means. For until they go we are not free. The true motive power of a well ordered Commonwealth, without which every thing is apt to go awry, is *public opinion*—"the opinion of the great middle classes," as expressed by their votes—that opinion, which, since its restoration by Martin Luther, has become the admitted guide of all governments but despotisms and fraud-governed republics. We are deprived of that; for public opinion can only be formed by discussion and ascertained by votes. But with us nothing can be discussed or voted upon without danger of negro intervention.

No one doubts that there are two sides to the tariff question; but our differences over it would start the monopolists to purchase the negro vote; so we cannot debate it. Clearly our railroads need to be controlled and regulated by the State; but to prevent reform they will bribe negroes to their support by money and by office, Federal, State, and municipal. For the same reason we dare not divide upon the great liquor question; and so in any matter of local or municipal concern; as Richmond knows to her cost. For notwithstanding the fact that over and above what she receives from the State, she has paid upwards of \$722,000, white man's money, to negro schools,* she has to stand to her guns at every municipal election to protect her property and rights against the attacks of black ingrates in league with white men meaner and more degraded than themselves. No matter what the question, whether Federal, State, or municipal, religious or temporal, we are now as effectually barred from forming or expressing an influential public opinion upon it as if we were forbidden by a despotism. As far as deliberate, practical legislation is concerned, we are remitted to the condition of things which existed in the middle ages. In this way negroes rule us—negatively, it is true, but absolutely—as their Republican and scalawag leaders mean they shall. And these are now preparing to rule us positively through the money of Northern Plutocrats, disbursed to gangs which are to be organized and marched to the polls in clubs next Fall. "Two hundred thousand dollars," said Gen. Mahone, "will carry this State either way;" and as we know what he means to do if he gets the power, we must drop all except the debt and the negro issue. We are not free to discuss anything else.

*See annual reports of Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1872 to 1889, inclusive.

Meanwhile there can be no peace or safety. What underwriter will insure houses in a district infested by burglars and incendiaries? But burglars and incendiaries will not be permitted to stay without a contest. Vigilance committees will be formed, and will hang and shoot. But what then becomes of law and order? Who will occupy houses you cannot insure, and are obliged to protect by the shot gun and the halter? With such risks from the negro and the scalawag and the Republican, with the best of our own population driven away in greater numbers than immigration can balance, we invite immigrants to take the places of those exiles, and tell them we will teach the incendiaries "good behavior" by "lessons learnt out of school books." But immigrants are timid and cautious, perhaps have a grain of sense, and will not come; and our young men are despondent and restless and will not stay; but go and leave their mothers and sisters behind. Meanwhile our population, dominated by negroes, becomes degraded into a worse than Mexican civilization; our lands revert to woods, our streams form pestilential marshes,

"And then from hour to hour we rot and rot;
And thereby hangs a tale."

August, 1889.

